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THE CHANCES OF McCARTHY'S DEFEAT — PAGE 14

New Republic

JOHN SPARKMAN—LIBERAL

THE STORM OVER CIVIL RIGHTS

An Editorial

IS THERE A "NEW SOUTH"?

by Arthur Raper

Reviews of . . .

Henry James **by Arthur Mizener**

The Challenge to Isolation **by Hans Kohn**

AUG 18 1952

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Letters

Bach and the Ladies

● I read the first of Robert Evett's articles (*NR*, July 28) with great interest, and felt obliged to make the following observations:

Firstly, it seemed to me that Mr. Evett was a bit too hard on Mme. Landowska. While appreciating the correctitude of his statements concerning her interpretation of Bach, it is my opinion that, if it is poor Bach, it is also marvelous Landowska, and one must respect such musical genius, even if one is in disagreement with the fundamental approach.

Secondly, I found myself a little at sea in the semantics of the last two paragraphs of the article. Mr. Evett appears to have applied value judgements which have no meaning in the context of Bach's time, for example the bits about attaining at least Handel's following if he had set out to get it, and the phrase ". . . he [Bach] must have realized that his special finesse could only be appreciated by a limited audience." In light of the facts of Bach's life, his ambitions insofar as his music was concerned, and the general social position of musicians in that day, these points are misleading, as they impute to Bach attitudes more readily attributed to a musician of the post-Beethoven era.

New York City RICHARD WELLSTOOD

● I was very much interested in and delighted with Robert Evett's reference to Mrs. Edith Weiss-Mann (*NR*, Aug. 4). . . .

Mrs. Weiss-Mann always insisted on playing Bach and other composers the way she thought those composers wanted their pieces played. She spent a great deal of time in delving into archives to arrive at a correct interpretation of those composers, and she sometimes planned programs to show the development from composer to composer and instrument to instrument. She also continued to try to improve her harpsichord technique, a chore which must have been quite trying during the years when her illness developed from bad to worse.

How well she has succeeded in her various endeavors, it is impossible for me to judge. I am grateful for your kind review, and sorry to hear that her playing was not always accurate, and wonder if her illness had something to do with it.

For some of the (financially) successful modern harpsichord players she had only contempt. Although recognizing the great playing ability of Mrs. Landowska, she berated Mme. L. for her showmanship and her—shall we call it—modernization of the old masters. Mr. Ralph Kirkpatrick's integrity and playing she revered and respected very much.

FREDERICK L. ANKER

Jackson Heights, N. Y.

James A. Farley

● I was amazed and distressed to read the editorial *The Liberal Democrats Take Their Stand* (*NR*, July 28) in which you say among other things that liberal groups headed by Averell Harriman and the forces captained by Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey opposed the "subtle strategy of a group of political straddlers and fixers led by Secretary Leslie Biffle, Frank McKinney, former Chairman William O. Boyle, former Sen. "Happy" Chandler and former Democratic National Chairman James A. Farley. These men sought to condemn the party to certain defeat by the nomination of 74-year-old Alben Barkley." You go on to say that "some preferred defeat which would leave them in the position of party power to victory under conditions which would break their hold and destroy their sinecures. Others, such as Farley who left the New Deal for a position of business power, are open to the unpleasant charge of working for the nomination of the weakest possible Democratic nominee to aid in the election of Eisenhower."

In my 40 years of public life I have been opposed because of political views which I held, and have been criticized for taking certain positions on questions of public policy, but I have never been accused of being a fixer or straddler. I have always enjoyed the complete respect of my opponents and anyone who is familiar with my record, both personal and public, knows this to be a fact.

I went to the convention with an open mind. I felt, and I gave my reasons at a press conference attended by more than 200 representatives of the press and radio, that Vice-President Barkley would make the best candidate on the basis of his achievements as an honest and capable servant of the people. I also believed sincerely that he could unite the Democratic Party. I pointed out that he is a man of vigor whose experience and wisdom would come into full play if he were elected President. I did not disparage nor did I criticize the other candidates, and in point of fact, expressed the opinion that Governor Stevenson would also make a good candidate. Those were my own views and I did my own thinking on the subject of Presidential candidates.

The New York delegation of which I was a member, having been chosen as delegate-at-large from the Empire State, decided to support Harriman. I felt that I could not honestly go along with the majority of the delegation and I voted for Stevenson on the first ballot. You made no reference to this in your editorial, but you seemed disposed to picture me as one who would be pleased over the defeat of the Democratic ticket.

I have always voted the Democratic ticket, and although I was opposed to a third term, I voted for President Roosevelt for a third and a fourth term. And I might mention in passing that the two-term limitation for President is now the law of the land.

Had you gone into the matter a little deeper, you might have learned that I was an original New Dealer since I was a member of the first two administrations of President Roosevelt which initiated and carried through the social legislation during those two terms. I left after the second term for the reason that I have stated above, because if I had supported a third term, I would be walking out on myself.

When you said that I left the New Deal for a position of business power, leaving me open to the charge of working for the nomination of the weakest possible candidate to aid Eisenhower, you wrote without rhyme or reason. When I left the cabinet, I did not go into business to acquire "power," but for the very simple and adequate reason that I had to make a living for my family and myself.

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Party Loyalty

McHale, national committeeman since 1937 and a tough, hard political slugger, said, "Regardless of the outcome Saturday I will continue to be a Democrat because my parents came from Ireland." – *From the* Indianapolis News.

Simple Arithmetic

Statisticians of the New York Stock Exchange and the Brookings Institution have discovered that two-thirds of the non-share owners of the country do not own stocks because they feel they haven't enough money. – *From the New York* Times.

A General Threat

The Republican Party could easily be out-generaled by its own generals—General Eisenhower, General Motors and General Mills. – *From the Caledonia (Minn.)* Journal.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

"I'M A PRIVATE in the rear ranks now and I do what they tell me." Those were President Truman's words when a reporter asked him what his thoughts were on the campaign. They were spoken with a sincerity and a sense of conviction that one can hardly imagine in most political leaders faced with a similar situation. The leadership of the Democratic Party has passed from Harry Truman to Adlai Stevenson.

Unquestionably the President has felt deep emotion—deep emotion in announcing that he would not run and again that early morning in Chicago when he saw the mantle shifted from his shoulder to that of the younger man. Yet, according to those who have been with him, the President has shown good humor all the time. His act of renunciation early this year and his good sportsmanship now that the power is in Springfield rather than in Washington are examples of the man's great sincerity, his honesty and his patriotism. They are qualities that have shown in Mr. Truman which the country has been slow to recognize, but they have been there even when he was his most stubborn and partisan self. His role the rest of the year will not be an easy one, for he holds the most powerful office in the world yet must defer to another man.

But we are fortunate that the transfer can be made without undue emotion or embarrassment, and it is encouraging that Mr. Truman has seen his own role this year so clearly and has acted with such good taste that an intra-party transfer can be made a sign of party strength rather than of crisis and bitterness.

The United States has been embarrassed again both by the law and the administration of the law in the remarkable case of Alberto Moravia, the Italian novelist recently denied a visa for a visit to this country. The State Department has declined all requests for information as to why Signor Moravia was deemed inadmissible under the McCarran Internal Security Act. Unthinking persons will conclude that he must be a dangerous sort of fellow, one of the many Italian Communists. But such a conclusion apparently is not at all correct, for some of the most violently outspoken anti-Communists in America have written a letter to the New York *Times* declaring that the State Department's action is "quite incomprehensible." The signers of the letter in behalf of Moravia were John Chamberlain, Max Eastman, John Dos Passos, William Phillips, Katherine Anne Porter, Alfred Kazin, Peter Viereck, James T. Farrell, Allen Tate, Lionel Trilling, Robert Penn Warren, Thornton Wilder and Edmund Wilson.

If the Republicans in their campaign for a complete change would promise a house cleaning in the State Department's visa and passport sections, they would appeal to many people. The truth is that those sections, particularly the former, are presided over by career officials who possess as narrow an outlook as Senators McCarran and McCarthy but exercise often even greater power. Secretary Acheson himself has made repeated efforts to try to introduce some sanity into the two bureaus. But the top officers in both have been pets of Senator McCarran. It remains to be seen whether the transfer of the chief of the visa section will have any effect; it probably will not, for the second man has long been the dominant personality and he remains, conducting warfare against top officials of the Department with the encouragement of Senator McCarran and others like him. This man was publicly reprimanded by former Secretary Marshall, but his power has not been curtailed. The leading policy officials of the Department are fully aware of the damage which the

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visa section and the McCarran Act have done, and they have forcefully expressed their resentment. But the Secretary has lacked the courage or the willingness to make a head-on fight on the question. It is one of the black marks against him. The visa and passport sections are not the only little oligarchies operating without regard to higher policy directives.

Nomination for the most fantastic political charge of the campaign to date: Sen. Everett Dirksen (Ill.), the albatross around General Eisenhower's neck and the Chicago *Tribune's* Senate mouthpiece, says that Governor Stevenson "is rapidly becoming known as Illinois' worst Governor since the turn of the century." This, at least, has the merit of absurdity. Not even Senator Dirksen can be unaware of the record of Governor Stevenson's immediate predecessor, Gov. Dwight Green, whose record was close to the bottom even by Illinois' standards. Dirksen suggested that the men to expose Governor Stevenson are Senators McCarthy, Jenner, Bricker and Kem. While not wishing to suggest collusion, the Democrats might wish to finance such a campaign. With such spokesmen as these against them, the Democrats can't lose.

Notes: Truman can rise to great heights —but not in his participation in Missouri politics, where he always backs the old machine horse whatever the merits of his opponent. . . . A book to watch for: A collection of Herblock's cartoons, with extensive explanatory notes by the cartoonist himself, to be published next month. . . . North Carolina, without any prodding or help from the outside, has all but buried the Ku Klux Klan. The series of convictions the state has obtained against Klan leaders shows that local law-enforcement officers can do a job when they have the will to do it—and a courageous Governor like Kerr Scott to support them. . . . Incidentally, it's worth remembering that Southerners and Dixiecrats are not synonymous. Four years ago nearly 80 percent of the Southern electoral votes were *not* in the Dixiecrat column.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

It is very easy to make statements and hurl charges at an individual because he does not happen to agree with your editorial policy or viewpoint. You have criticized and almost maligned me without considering carefully what my position regarding Presidential candidates really was, but have proceeded on what I insist were preposterous assumptions.

I see that since the publication of the editorial to which I have reference, you have come out for Stevenson. Perhaps you have seen the light. But do not forget that I urged his nomination as soon as Vice President Barkley withdrew and from that moment on, labored as hard as I could even with my own New York delegation to bring about his nomination. You might be interested in knowing that I refrained from polling the New York delegation on the second ballot in deference to the wishes of a number of my personal friends in the delegation, but I served notice I would have the delegation polled on the third ballot. Had that been necessary, the majority of the delegates, in my judgment, would have voted for Stevenson, despite the pressure exerted on them to go along with Averell Harriman's candidacy. I acted as I did because the vote which I cast squared with my mind and conscience.

I trust you will publish this letter. I feel I am entitled to that consideration in view of what seems to me to have been an unfair attack in your issue of July 28.

New York City JAMES A. FARLEY

[The editorial to which Mr. Farley refers was written one day after his press conference endorsing Mr. Barkley, and five days before his first ballot vote for Mr. Stevenson. We are happy to accept Mr. Farley's statement that during this period he labored as hard as he could for Stevenson. — THE EDITORS.]

The 1952 Campaign

● T.R.B.'s summation of the Democratic convention (*NR*, August 4) reveals political acumen at its finest. In his characteristically laconic yet effective fashion he delves deeply into the hidden corners and obscure curves of the goings-on in the convention. . . . I was, however, very much disappointed when, referring to Stevenson's acceptance speech, he merely touched upon it with the terse remark that "this was the speech Eisenhower should have made," instead of drawing at least contrasting miniature portraits of the two Presidential candidates as reflected in their acceptance speeches.

An acceptance speech, written in an as yet unaffected, sober, dispassionate tone, should give us some clues to the writer's temper, character and make-up as well as to whether he is of the ordinary or extraordinary cut. . . . Eisenhower's figure as reflected in his acceptance speech seems to wax pale and become eclipsed when contrasted with the brilliant radiance emanating from Stevenson's acceptance speech—which makes us recognize that Stevenson brings with him the experience in domestic and foreign matters, the Wilson scholarly bend and Roosevelt political astuteness to qualify him best to occupy the office of President. . . .

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

● The Democratic Party, in sacrificing principle for political expediency, has betrayed the great mass of American liberal voters. Instead of outright reading out of the party of the reactionary Southerners, they chose to compromise. And they chose the somewhat conservative Adlai Stevenson for standard-bearer. Their placation of the South in the selection of Sen. John Sparkman shows that they were more interested in unity than in a genuinely liberal humanitarian program protecting the civil rights of Negroes and other minorities. . . .

Anyone who has read Stevenson's views on the issues of the day knows that Stevenson honestly does not believe in some of the Fair Deal humanitarian principles. He is against the national health-insurance program. He is not for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law; he says this law should be modified. . . . I will vote for the Democratic nominee for the Senate and House but I will not vote for the Democratic nominee for President.

St. Louis, Mo. MURRAY WEST

FEPC in Focus

● I wish to thank you for permitting Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey to clarify the central issue relating to FEPC legislation (*NR*, July 28). I do not believe, however, that "woeful ignorance about FEPC" is the thing displayed by the editorials, radio and television debates, and magazine articles about it. The people who discuss this issue know very well that it seeks to do nothing more than eliminate racism from the economic life of America, and that it would do nothing more.

Sen. Paul Douglas knows this in spite of his profound respect for Dick Russell. Turner Catledge knows it in spite of his Mississippi heritage. . . .

A spirit of compromise which either understands or excuses racism in this country is today entertained by journalists, politicians, divines and the learned men themselves. Most of them are so imaginative they would put the case against second-class citizenship in terms of treason, and the advocates for fair-employment legislation under such labels as "extremists" and "left-wing die-hards."

Bronx, New York HENRY F. WINSLOW

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New Republic

JOHN SPARKMAN AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE

JOHN SPARKMAN, the mild-mannered Southerner who seeks the Vice-Presidency, is becoming the center of a bitter political struggle. It rages between two traditional foes, the Northern liberals and the Southern conservatives. It rages also within the Northern group. One side defends Sparkman and Stevenson on the ground that both men are committed to the established civil-rights program; the other attacks them because they are not.

Both sides seem to us to be wrong. They are wrong because they are less than honest in refusing to recognize that there is a genuine difference in approach between the Northern liberal movement which has formulated the civil-rights program and the Southern liberal movement which Sparkman represents. Once this difference is acknowledged the issue becomes: *is one side to prevail without compromise while the other goes into the political wilderness?* or *is a new approach to be attempted which bridges and reconciles the two views?*

II

The first group, which champions the civil-rights program includes the Northern liberals, the trade unions and the Negroes, particularly the rising population of Negroes who live in the North.

The numbers of Negroes who live in the deep South has barely increased in recent years. But in the North, the Negro population has risen from half a million in 1880 to four and a half million today. The 10 million Negroes of the South have become an important political group as registration has increased. But the 775,000 Negroes of New York City, the 509,000 in Chicago, the 380,000 of Philadelphia, the 303,000 of Detroit, the 206,000 of Baltimore, the 211,000 of Los Angeles, are a still more important political group whose strength, if it can be united, approaches a balance of political power in key Northern states. Naturally some Negro leaders are trying to use this position to commit the major parties to their own maximum program on civil rights. To condemn this group approach to politics is sterile and also unjust. For as long as the Negro is made to suffer as a group, he must react as a group. However, it is also true that to emphasize group interest to the exclusion of all other aspects of citizenship can lead to tragic results. That was shown when Negro leaders concerned solely with the civil-rights issue persuaded Negro voters to help elect McCarthy's protégé, John Marshall Butler, to the Senate from Maryland, and to defeat Millard Tydings at the moment when Tydings for all his previous faults had become a symbol of resistance to McCarthy's brand of fascism.

III

The Southern liberal movement stands in contrast to prevailing attitudes in the North and West. It sees in poverty the basic troubles of the South. It sets out, through economic measures, to raise the economic status of all low-income groups and so to provide better opportunity for all, including the Southern Negro. In doing this, it clashes both with the Southern feudalists and the Northern corporations whose political weight in the South supports the feudal system.

John Sparkman is one of the finest spokesmen of Southern liberalism. His whole political life has been directed to raising the economic status of all low-income groups. He has fought for crop insurance, for rural electrification, for soil conservation, for the extension of social security, for federal-aid-to-education, for full-employment legislation, for the spreading of defense contracts among small businessmen, for TVA. As chairman of one Senate investigating committee after another, he published a series of important reports on such subjects as migratory labor conditions, the airlines lobby, and the distribution of poverty. He was the co-sponsor of the first general housing bill in January, 1949, and author and champion of the middle-income and co-operative housing bills. When the Housing Act of 1949 was passed, the National Housing Conference concluded:

> More than any single individual Sen. John Sparkman deserves the everlasting gratitude of every American. He managed S 1070 through the Senate from the day it was introduced. From beginning to end he was the complete master of the situation. He was kind, patient, able and courageous, every inch of the way.

But Sparkman was a leader of Southern liberalism—that is, he favored an economic approach to progress in the South and opposed direct civil-rights legislation. If this legislation is good, then Sparkman's civil-rights record, as the NAACP points out, is bad. It is even a

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little worse than Richard Nixon's. Yet in the progressive state of California, Nixon is the enemy of civil rights, while in Alabama, Sparkman is the worst enemy of the racists and the Dixiecrats.

It was in Alabama that the Dixiecrats prepared their early maneuvers, and in Alabama that they were first set back. Sparkman and Sen. Lister Hill together took on the Dixiecrats. They led and won a fight to compel every candidate for public office to pledge support of the nominees of the national Democratic Party. The Dixiecrats contested the outcome, and won in the Birmingham Court and the Alabama Supreme Court. But Hill and Sparkman pressed the case to the US Supreme Court which reversed the lower courts.

IV

As Congressman from the rural region of Huntsville, Sparkman voted consistently against legislation sponsored by the AFL and the CIO. As Senator, representing the industrial and farm regions of Alabama, he studied labor issues and slowly changed his position. This year Sparkman was a principal author of the 1952 Democratic platform, hailed by Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, as "a signal victory for the forces of liberalism in the party." Sparkman has said that he will work to carry out the platform. He will work, that is, to amend Rule 22, to enact federal laws to secure "equal opportunity for employment," to provide "the right to full and equal participation in the nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints."

Does this mean that he will rule in favor of majority cloture, or sponsor the present FEPC bill? It does not. And those who insist that Sparkman must swear now his allegiance to the letter of established civil-rights doctrines to win their support are making a grave mistake.

"If elected," predicts Josephus Simpson in the *Afro-American*, "Sparkman . . . will become another Hugo Black." The Norfolk *Journal and Guide* adds: "Usually when Southerners have been given large responsibilities and have been freed from too much dependence upon local support, they have come through. . . ." That is right, but it is the nature and rate of Sparkman's growth that is decisive. Sparkman is unique as a spokesman for a vital Southern movement that can isolate and defeat the Dixiecrats. As an instrument of Northern pressure he is nothing. Progress will result if he carries enough of the South with him in his growth. Reaction is inevitable if he is compelled to appear as a hypocrite by a sudden shift as Russell shifted in Chicago on the Taft-Hartley Act. Those who seek a sudden shift in place of a steady growth for local prestige would sacrifice Sparkman's whole broad concept and his capacity for leadership and growth in order to heap his skeleton on the political bones of Claude Pepper, Frank Graham and many an honorable man.

V

It would be fair to point out that Truman's civil-rights record was deplorable, prior to his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, were it not plain that Sparkman and Stevenson may advance along other lines. For in Truman's term of office the civil-rights campaign was held to maximum objectives and, taken in terms of legislation, achieved no results. The spirit which Stevenson brings to the White House is very different. His whole approach and temperament leads him not to *advocate* but to *enact*. He quietly abolished segregation in state government in Illinois. He brought his own FEPC law to within one vote of enactment.

Stevenson plainly intends to continue his approach at the national level. His inclination will be to advance civil-rights legislation that can be passed. His choice of Sparkman was ideal from this point of view. But Sparkman represents further Stevenson's faith in the new South and his determination to bring about advances in civil rights *through the consent and participation of elected Southern leaders*. Federal legislation is directed primarily at the South, and since it must be enacted by a Senate in which Southerners hold the balance of power and enforced by Southern sheriffs, governors, judges and juries, Stevenson's approach may well be the most realistic course.

Until the Stevenson-Sparkman slate was nominated, it was logical for all civil-rights supporters to stand on the Truman strategy which no elected Southerner can support. Now that the decision has been made to work with the best forces in the South, the proper endeavor becomes to seek a bridge between Northern and Southern liberalism.

Hubert Humphrey made the first move toward a new approach in his revised FEPC proposal, published in the *New Republic*. Between now and November further efforts will be made to draft a legislative program that follows the Democratic platform and yet wins enough Southern support to assure enactment and enforcement later on. Change in cloture will become less urgent if agreement on a civil-rights program can be worked out.

In the world of ideas no less than the world of property, liberalism means receptivity to change, not adherence to the *status quo*. It would be wrong for Northern liberals to allow conciliation to become retreat on principle; it would be worse to sacrifice on the altar of doctrine the substance and hope of progress that Stevenson and Sparkman represent.

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THE WEEK

McKELLAR PASSES

In an unprecedented outpouring of poll-tax free voters, Tennessee has written *finis* to the political career of the aged and irascible dean of the Senate, Kenneth D. McKellar. His successor, 44-year-old Albert Gore, will pair with Estes Kefauver to make one of the most progressive teams in the upper house. Gore, who has represented Cordell Hull's old Congressional District for a dozen years, has a record of liberalism on domestic and foreign policy.

"Kay Dee," who first went to Washington in the William Howard Taft era and has served in the Senate for an unsurpassed 36 years, waged a pathetic campaign. The Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, which had given him editorial support for 40 years, strongly advised McKellar to follow the course of Sen. Tom Connally and bow out undefeated. When the octogenarian angrily rejected this advice, the *Appeal* gave its support to Gore. Ultimately only three of the state's 26 daily newspapers (two of them Republican) supported the Senator. Announcing an elaborate whistle-stop speaking schedule, McKellar came down from Washington to give "that young whippersnapper" a lesson in campaigning. But after an exhausting formal opening appearance at Cookeville, the aged Senator was able to make only three public appearances thereafter.

Nevertheless, the vast patronage organization which functioned so effectively for decades operated in high gear. Office-holders toured the state on McKellar junkets and the Republican organization, which has been a major dependence of the Senator in East Tennessee, contributed its customary support. Against all this Gore waged a one-man campaign, making more than 250 speeches and shaking hands with over 200,000 voters.

This is Tennessee's first Senatorial primary without the poll tax. The resulting influx of new voters, barred from previous McKellar elections, was a major factor in Gore's victory. The defeat of McKellar marks the passing of perhaps the most astute manipulator of patronage in the history of Congress. His defeat also marks a further eclipse of the Boss Crump sun, though the latter gained a doubtful lease on life by climbing on the bandwagon of the candidate for Governor, Frank Clement, who defeated Gov. Gordon Browning for the Democratic nomination.

THE NEW SAUCER EPIDEMIC

The flying saucers are with us again. In all parts of the country, scores of excited citizens are once more reporting strange lights in the sky, disks, cigar-shaped objects and occasional green fireballs.

The US Air Force and the Office of Naval Research have investigated about 1,500 flying-saucer reports since 1947, and 80 percent of them have been satisfactorily explained as weather balloons, conventional aircraft, clouds, birds, meteors or stars. Various scientists think they know the answers to the other 20 percent.

Noel Scott, a physicist for the Army Corps of Engineers at Fort Belvoir, Va., reports that he has produced flying saucers in miniature in the laboratory. When ionized (electricity-carrying) air is introduced into a partial vacuum, simulating conditions high in the atmosphere, Mr. Scott is able to produce orange-red balls, disks and mushrooms, capable of registering on a radar screen. Changing the electrical pattern causes these to dart about erratically at high speed, stopping, turning and starting.

Dr. Donald H. Menzel, Professor of Astrophysics at Harvard, has also reproduced flying saucers in the laboratory. He points out that when there is a layer of heated air high above us, between two layers of colder air, it acts as a mirror. It will reflect back toward the earth pictures of trees, buildings or other objects in the day time, and lights at dusk or during the night. These images can be transmitted many miles. Thus the headlights of an automobile might be reflected 40 miles away on the Arizona desert.

The green fireballs, it is suggested, may be meteors containing magnesium, a substance which emits a green light when incandescent.

Those who insist that the flying saucers are real have made much of the fact that several times recently, radar screens at Washington, D. C., have shown "blips" from points in the sky where no aircraft were known to be flying. A plane was sent up to pursue a mysterious "object" on the radar screen; it was equipped with a radar-homing device which means that the plane will automatically follow, through any gyrations, the object on its screen to which it has been "locked on." This plane, after rising a considerable distance, suddenly turned its nose downward and almost crashed, repeating this performance twice more. Maj. Gen. John A. Samford, Chief of Air Force Intelligence, held a special press conference to announce that under certain conditions, radar can be bounced back from the sky just as light waves are. The conclusion to which he pointed was that the plane had followed the radar beam up into the sky to the surface of the "mirror," and then had turned toward the original source on the ground.

To those who insist that the flying saucers come from some other planet, or from a star, astronomers reply that they believe there is no organic life on any planet; that the temperature of most of the stars is, at the lowest, thousands of degrees; and that at a speed of, say, 2,000 miles an hour, it would take about a million years to reach the earth from the nearest of them (except the sun). But none of these explanations yet satisfy those who believe that the flying saucers are manned by "sentient beings," who have come from outer space to observe us. Notions like this are much more exciting than the dull, prosaic scientific probability.

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PEOPLES AND PASHAS

THE MIDDLE EAST'S high-explosive political potential from now on is seen by Western European experts as presenting a variant of the basic political problem which US policy had to face in Western Europe during the latter part of the war and in the early post-war years. In essence, it is the problem of how to reconcile the immediate urgent needs of waging and finishing a war with the long-term needs of preparing the conditions of lasting peace.

It was clear after the fall of France that if countries like France and Italy were to evolve healthily a start would have to be made toward giving them basic social reforms. But how could such a start be made without provoking class conflict, without compromising unity in the resistance to the enemy, without preventing the full mobilization of all social forces for quick military victory?

After the downfall of King Farouk and the triumph of Premier Mossadegh, a more or less similar problem faces US policy in Egypt, Iran, Tunisia and the countries of the Moslem world. There is no direct parallel between the social situations in Western Europe and Middle Eastern lands. Even under the Nazis, Paris had little in common with a city like Cairo, or Rome with Teheran which still has no running water system.

On the other hand, however, Cairo and Teheran balance their shortcomings by possessing enormous strategic importance on the second front of the Cold War, if only because of the Suez Canal and the oceans of Iranian oil. Moreover, reform is urgently needed. It has been so long delayed in the Middle East that the anachronistic feudal regimes are a constant source of dangerous explosive turbulence. Yet how can such reforms be carried out without unleashing forces of fanatical nationalism that may end up in Kremlin hands.

The US answer in the 1940s was the Vichy policy. Instead of supporting General de Gaulle the decision was to appease Marshal Petain. Instead of a man like Ferruccio Parri the choice was Marshal Badoglio. The activities of the Western European Communists of the Resistance were tolerated but, even after the urgent military needs were satisfied, the democrats were not really backed.

Only future history can judge whether the fighting war was won more quickly or easily thereby. Yet the facts of the Cold War suggest that, had the decisions been different, there might now be fewer millions of Communists in France and Italy.

For a long time it has been traditional US policy to foster the Asiatic and African aspirations to nationalism. And in terms of the analogy with the Western European situation, these nationalists have gradually taken a place in the social struggles of the Middle East similar to that of the Communists of the Resistance. Although there has been no shift on the part of the State Department to a direct equivalent of the Vichy policy in the Middle East, Washington has recently swung away its support for nationalism and given it to the *pashas*, the *efendis* and their backers in the colonialist powers. Loy Henderson, a veteran of the Vichy school, was sent as trouble-shooting ambassador to Teheran. We have tended to support the British of the old imperialist school in Iran. We have backed at least indirectly the French colonialists in Tunisia. And, most important, we have counted on King Farouk as the strong man and the force of stability in the Moslem world.

The Western Europeans believe that the time for peaceful reform is running out in the Middle East—and fast. They fear that either bloody revolution or equally bloody repression may be ahead.

Of Egypt, the New York *Times* has said: "The nationalist impulse itself is understandable and commendable, but it needs to be harnessed to good ends." Of Iran, accusing Mossadegh of having "already bankrupted his country," it said "when nationalism is turned into a sort of mass-suicide complex it leaves the world of political health and gets into the field of morbid psychology."

But the fact is that the millions of Egyptians and Iranians in the ranks of extremist nationalism never profited from the solvency of their countries. And when a revolution is starting or going on, it never can be "harnessed to good ends," nor can it be in the realm of political health—only future history can put it there. The corruption of Farouk's clique was a symptom of a deeper and more widespread disease. As the *Monde* of Paris points out:

> If Farouk ended by embodying all the injustices of the regime and the abuses of the social structure, he is in fact less responsible for them than the whole of the ruling class itself. The *pashas* and the millionaires who held in their hands all the profits and jobs thought they could defend their privileges by shaking demagogic scarecrows in front of the popular discontent—first the struggle against Zionism, then agitation against the West, both accused of responsibility for all the misfortunes of the Arab peoples. Now the ruling class offers the king as a scapegoat to the popular passions it has aroused. But will it be able to save itself?

Farouk's successors, being *pashas* themselves, seem unlikely to offer a real cure. Nevertheless, revolution, with all its horrors and all its danger (of which help to Moscow is not the least), is under way in the Middle East. Though it cannot be harnessed, it can conceivably be influenced; and there is an opportunity for US policy to avoid the mistakes of the 1940s in Western Europe.

If General Naguib takes over himself in the manner of Colonel Shishakly of Syria, and tries to follow in the dictatorial footsteps of Mustapha Kemal who created modern Turkey—which is not at all unlikely—the opportunity for US policy is even greater. In either case—revolution or repression—the need is to recognize that the Middle East cannot become a position of military strength today if the Augean stables of long yesterdays of social injustice are not cleaned out in preparation for a better tomorrow for peoples rather than *pashas*.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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IS THERE "A NEW SOUTH?"

by Arthur Raper

Since his nomination in Chicago, John Sparkman has become much more than an individual contender for the Vice-Presidency. His supporters maintain that Sparkman is a spokesman of the New South—a liberal and progressive South that should be encouraged. His opponents answer that talk of a New South has continued since the Civil War; that there is no New South, but only a racist and reactionary system undeserving of national leadership.

Which group is right? The answer lies ultimately in agricultural economies, analyzed here by Mr. Raper.

THE FLOWERING OF the New South has endured a number of false springs. It was heralded first in the 1880s as the South turned its back on secession and slavery and looked forward to the new activity of big railroads, life-insurance companies and other new national corporations. But the farms remained essentially the same, the new corporations were chiefly owned in the North, and the promised changes did not materialize.

About a decade later, it was the Populist movement that was to bring the new day, with the corporations curbed by law, and government at all levels more truly representing the mass of the people. But again the stubborn and unchanging character of cotton, cane and tobacco thwarted the efforts at reform. In the early 1900s, it was the shift of the textile industry out of New England into the South that was to bring the New South; unfortunately, the essentially feudal relations of plantation life were transferred to the mill villages; industry did not change the South nearly so much as the South changed industry. Next it was to be the impact of coal and steel in and around Birmingham and petroleum and natural gas in the Southwest and more recently in the lower Mississippi Basin; but again, so much of the ownership remained outside the region that the expected revolution did not take place.

The Roosevelt New Deal did make some changes. It helped thousands of tenant farmers to become owners and some old-line owners to get on their feet; it financed many a new school building, court house, community house, bridge and emergency airport. There was, however, no real shift in the balance of power. The people who had been running the region ran it still. There could be no real New South, for cotton and tobacco and cane were still the main crops and each of them had to be grown by hand. And so long as the region remained predominantly agricultural, and agricultural production remained without effective machines, there was a tremendous premium on the availability of hand labor at "reasonable rates."

The truth is, hand labor did not earn enough to be paid anything other than a low wage. Planters knew this; sharecroppers and hired workers knew it, too. But only the reckless dared say it, for no other way of Southern farming had yet been demonstrated.

In the face of all these premature announcements of the New South, we do now proclaim its emergence. We proclaim it because cheap hand labor—the one thing more than any other that gave distinctive character to the old South—is no longer indispensable in the region's agriculture.

Throughout the nation the need for cheap agricultural labor is shrinking as productivity per acre and per man-hour rises. This change is brought about by the impact of science and technology which has brought developments such as these:

The mechanical cotton picker, now greatly aided by chemicals that remove the leaves from the cotton plant just before the cotton is picked;

Cleaner ginning methods that correct the greater trashiness of machine-picked cotton;

Chemical weed killers such as 2,4-D, and newer ones that are even more effective;

New types of insecticide sprayers, which cover an acre with only five gallons instead of 50 as before;

Crop dusting by airplane, which also employs the new-type spraying devices, and can take care of 30 acres with only five gallons instead of 50 as before;

Sowing seeds which are coated or pelleted, and can contain in one pellet—which can be colored to repel insects, rodents and birds—insecticides, fungicides, herbicides, growth hormones and fertilizer, thus making one operation out of seeding and fertilizing;

New soil conditioners like Krilium, still in the laboratory but apparently amazingly effective;

Improved quality of both livestock and crops, extending still further the achievements of the recent past which have, for instance, increased the yield of corn from 26 bushels per acre 40 years ago to more than 35 today, while the number of man-hours of work per hundred bushels has been reduced from 135 to 67;

Improved techniques in artificial insemination, which

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make it possible for a high-grade bull to father 2,000 calves per year, instead of 40;

The use of growth stimulants or plant hormones to speed up or retard growth and thus avoid losses because of inclement weather at one end or the other of the growth cycle;

Destruction of weeds by use of flame-throwers;

Increased use of mechanical aids on the farm, such as special machines to cultivate and harvest sugar cane and peanuts, and tractors, hay balers, combines, corn pickers, and milking machines—many of which have more than trebled between 1940 and 1950;

Feeding antibiotics and vitamin B12 to speed up the growth of young chickens, turkeys and hogs—in some cases as much as 20 percent;

Use of a chemical spray to thin out an apple orchard, often saving 50 or more man-hours per acre per year;

Use of chemicals to destroy potato plants above ground when they are mature and need to be removed, at a great saving over previous techniques employing hand labor or flames;

Experiments now underway with the new chemical, Estradiol Cyclopentylpropionate, which give hopes of causing ewes to lamb twice a year, instead of once, and also to increase the fertility of other farm animals.

This is the nation-wide trend. However, the impact of this technical revolution will be heaviest in the South, the last to be mechanized. Many people do not realize that in recent years the rate of increase of farm machinery has been much greater in the South than for the country as a whole. The percentage of the cotton mechanically harvested rose from one-half of one percent in 1946 to 17 percent in 1951—more than ten times as many bales were mechanically harvested in 1951 as in 1947. Between 1945 and 1951, according to estimates, the number of combines more than doubled, milking machines quadrupled, and corn pickers increased more than 600 percent. The increase of cattle numbers by more than 50 percent between 1930 and 1950 also reduced the number of workers on Southern farms. This is most marked in the black belt of Alabama, where a much smaller labor force is used in cattle farming than was earlier used in cotton farming. In response to the increase of mechanization and livestock farming, the number of tenant farmers in the South decreased more than 280,000 or 20 percent, between 1940 and 1945; a further decrease of more than 260,000, or 22 percent, occurred between 1945 and 1950. The number of hired farm workers also decreased, as farm operators and their families with machines and livestock did a larger proportion of the farm work themselves. The number of farm owners showed an increase of more than eight percent during the decade.

The families on mechanized and/or livestock farms are doing a better job of farming than they ever did before. They find it profitable to take care of their land through wider use of legumes, contour plowing, and other long-recommended practices. Also, Southern farm families are raising their levels of living relatively more rapidly than the farmers in any other part of the country. Between 1940 and 1945, the level of living of farm operators in the South rose 32 percent as compared to the national gain of 25 percent.

It is estimated that a farm operator can get along with at least one less tenant family if he gets a tractor, and that a mechanical cotton picker does the work of about 40 pickers. In view of these estimates, both on the conservative side, and to the increase of livestock farming, it is no surprise that there was a decline of well over a half million farm tenants in the South between 1940 and 1950—a decline of nearly 38 percent in the decade—and that the decline continues.

Now that chemical weed control for cotton production seems to be imminent, it is not uncommon to hear plantation owners state that they believe the fuller mechanization of cotton will move steadily forward, and that there will be a yet greater decline in the number of hand workers needed. Some plantation owners now point out that it was simply impossible for the old South to provide adequate education, health and other public services for all of its people; that the per capita production was not enough to support the population.

Tobacco remains largely hand produced, but the number of farm families who rely upon its production is relatively small as compared with the number who grow cotton, and tobacco farming operations have generally been more diversified and on more of a family hand-labor pattern than cotton. Even so, the amount of hand labor on tobacco farms is being steadily reduced through the application of chemicals to keep off the worms and the use of thermostat controlled oil burners in curing barns.

As some plantations and smaller farms mechanize ahead of others, the whole South is now spotted with the new in the midst of the old, with the new everywhere on the increase. The trend is firm and general, but mechanization will not likely be anywhere near complete in the region as a whole at an early date, for remnants of the old ways of doing things will persist on some plantations and perhaps even more among the small independent farmers in the more marginal land areas of the South. It is fortunate that the shift from hand labor

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to mechanization is taking place over a period of time for it affords the large numbers of people leaving Southern farms an opportunity to be absorbed into the labor force and the community life of the localities—whether within or without the region—in which they can find livelihood opportunities.

There was at least some truth in each of the premature announcements of the New South. For the New South could hardly have emerged until national corporations operated within it, until at least for a short time the rank and file of the Southern people of both races had found through a common political experience that they could work together to correct some of the economic ills, until the textile and steel and coal and oil industries had been developed, and until the federal-state programs had been launched to make more equal the unequal place—in education, in health and in matters related to public welfare and security. Also of real significance were the new wants created among Southern people by the New Deal programs—many a family then first realized that it might be possible for them to own a refrigerator, or purchase a farm, or send their children through high school or even to college. Also it was then that some of them, as citizens of the United States, first realized that they had a right to some kind of a wage-earning job and that they no longer need face the specter of spending their old age in the county poor house. These rising aspirations of the rank and file of Southern people during the New Deal depression period have been dynamic incentives in more recent years to added endeavor and planning for the realization of a higher level of living. One of the characteristics of the New South is that it is more afraid of poverty than of work.

For those farm people who participate in the new developments, the future holds great hope: The farmers who remain on the land, once they mechanize and expand their livestock production, are definitely better off; the land is being cared for more effectively. New industrial employment continues to expand, and the outlook of the people is one of increased pride in the region. Small landowners may find ways to use machinery jointly, or town investors may experiment with making basic mechanized operations available to them on a custom basis. Some small farmers can hope to market farm products at retail prices to the people in the growing industrial centers. Leaders of organized labor are feeling more at home; most important of all as the New South emerges, regional differentials are declining as are also intra-regional racial differentials in wages, political participation, and expenditures for education.

Farm children are freer to attend school regularly, now that machines make it less necessary for them to work in the fields. Farm women have the opportunity to spend more time in making their homes comfortable and beautiful, and in taking care of their children. All of these things are in the direction of the American way of life, and the South is finding them to its liking.

Along with the improved situation for those families who remain on farms, large and small, there will be further migration of erstwhile farm people to the cities. When a plantation is mechanized the more alert men will be the ones most needed on it. They are being offered better houses, often located along a good road where electric current and running water can be provided. And what of those who are least able to operate machines? What of the elements of the population not needed on mechanized farms? And what of the elderly couples? Some will remain on the plantations for a time; others will leave soon. Some who leave will immediately find employment elsewhere; others may not. It should be emphasized that the vast majority of the people who leave the plantations know practically nothing about competitive employment and have had little experience in community participation. In fact, they are handicapped by a dearth of skills, low educational status, and a tradition of non-participation in community life.

The nation as a whole will feel the emergence of the New South—for the Southern region has a high birth rate and will be exporting people in even larger numbers than heretofore as mechanization and livestock farming further increase. Looked at realistically, it makes high sense that nation-wide standards of education, health and welfare be established; and that these standards be promoted in the South to make certain that the people who leave for the cities—North, South, East and West—come equipped to live there successfully. Up until now, this point has not been taken very seriously by political leaders whose constituents live in the larger metropolitan areas. But it is to these areas that Southern people, including erstwhile tenant farmers and hired farm workers, are moving in largest numbers.

As a Southerner I express the hope that as the New South emerges the best of the old South may be retained. We want machines and higher production per worker, more productive farms, and better kept land; we also want the traditional friendliness and sense of unhurriedness which has long characterized the region. It may be, since the rural South comes into its mechanized expression relatively late, that it can develop in a sober, balanced way.

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BRITAIN—THE SPECTER RETURNS

by Michael Curtis

IT WAS APPROPRIATE that one of the last big debates in the House of Commons, before British M.P.s dispersed for a well-earned vacation, should have been concerned with the economic situation and the old, old problem of how to make the country pay its way.

If one thing has been proved beyond all shadow of doubt since Mr. Churchill's government took office nine months ago it is that Britain's economic difficulties are rooted in causes that have very little to do with socialism, controls or doctrinaire planning. An awful truth is beginning to dawn on the Conservative Party. The basic policies laid down by that formidable socialist chancellor, Sir Stafford Cripps, can be modified in detail or in emphasis—but they cannot possibly be discarded. Britain's financial reserves are so low that any attempt to "set the people free" or to liberate the pound sterling from the shackles of exchange control would immediately lead to disaster. Because of the grim balance of payments situation imports of food and raw materials have been cut and cut again. The alternative would have been bankruptcy. The resulting shortage of materials inevitably called for a system of rationing and commodity controls so that the needs of exporters, of defense and of civilian consumers can be fairly met. At the same time, to avoid inflation, maximum prices have had to be maintained for the vast majority of goods. Business in Britain is as rigidly controlled under Mr. Churchill as it was under Mr. Attlee.

This is bitter medicine for the Conservative rank-and-file. Quite naturally there have been outbursts of protest and a constant rumbling of discontent at the way things are going. When Bob Boothby, one of the liveliest Tory back-benchers, thundered his opinion that "the age of laissez-faire" and multilateralism is as dead as a "dodo" he delighted the Labourites and infuriated many of his own party. But he was right. He was certainly more realistic than another group, strongly supported by London financial interests, who seek salvation by freeing the pound, reducing taxation and sweeping aside all controls.

This right-wing group (whose economic philosophy would warm the heart of Senator Taft) has become increasingly vocal lately and although the Conservatives are gentlemen enough to minimize their differences, the movement has a genuine parallel with the disaffected Bevanites now in the Labour Party. The main target of the right wing is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler, who has suffered a rough handling all round. It is common knowledge, for example, that there is little love between him and Mr. Churchill. The Prime Minister continues to lean heavily on his wartime advisers and in economic affairs Lord Cherwell is the man to whom he prefers to listen. This accounts for the sometimes sensationally different interpretations of the economic situation which Butler and Churchill have given to a bewildered populace. Churchill's addiction to the vivid phrase terrifies the Treasury. A solemn warning he uttered recently is said to have lost the country $3.5 million per word from international currency speculators. This is a high rate—even for Mr. Churchill!

In fact, of course, the immediate situation is not nearly as black as many people assume. The appalling drain on the reserves at the beginning of the year has been halted. The terms of trade have at last shifted in Britain's favor and the cost of imported raw materials has fallen sharply. Unfortunately, this cuts both ways—since Commonwealth countries selling rubber, wool, tin and cocoa to the United States are getting fewer dollars in return. The sterling area, for which Britain acts as banker, consequently loses. In the same way nobody is quite sure how much the government's fierce import cuts will invite retaliatory measures and thus cripple Britain's export drive.

It is an appalling dilemma and few Americans realize what a paralyzing effect this continual nagging fear of bankruptcy can have on the administration generally—whatever party is in power.

To take but one instance—the essential priority demands of the export industries and the defense program are competing directly for a limited quantity of steel. Without American supplies this year (paid for in precious dollars) the defense program would inevitably flounder. But there is a third claimant for steel and machine tools—British industry itself which time and again in successive Anglo-American productivity team reports has been criticized as out-of-date and inefficient. Yet British industry comes a bad third in the scale of priorities. Capital investment was severely restricted in the last budget. Only the armament and engineering industries are receiving favorable attention—and even their products are going for export!

For anyone who has the courage to look beyond this country's day-to-day troubles and triumphs the outlook

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is somber indeed. In the world around us we see our former enemies on the battle field (unhampered as yet by the clamant demands of defense) re-equipping their factories and creeping up in the export race. Across the Atlantic, we are told, the United States is providing her workers *with six times as much capital investment per head* as Britain can afford to do.

No wonder Mr. Bevan is finding a ready-made audience for his argument that Britain must reduce her defense program and his claim that America is not shouldering her fair share of the burdens of defense of the West.

Criticism of America is again becoming widespread and for the first time since Lord Keynes negotiated the dollar loan at the end of the war the arguments of the Left are prompting a reluctant echo among the business community. When the British firm of Ferranti succeeded in landing a big contract in the United States recently the news was received with jublilation—but the Bevanites did not fail to point out that the price the firm quoted had to be *23 percent* below the lowest American tender before it escaped the Buy American Act! The activities of the 20 American industries who have been appealing to the Tariff Commission were equally succulent nourishment to the chronic American baiters.

Most thoughtful people in both parties are worried by the danger of even a slight recession in the United States. They recall that a mere five percent drop in American output in 1949 imposed a 30 percent devaluation of the pound sterling. They point out that since 1945 America has sold or given away 31 billion dollars worth of goods in excess of her purchases. Yet West Europe still remains balanced on the edge of an economic precipice. That is why there was such a gasp of relief in Europe when Senator Taft was defeated at Chicago.

It wasn't just that everyone felt American dollars would continue to flow—though that is important in all conscience. It was a feeling that whoever was President of the United States next year would at least understand the kind of problem Europe is up against.

Europe is genuinely grateful for American help—but she would a thousand times prefer not to have to ask for it. The slur of "living on charity" wounds her pride and self-respect. It provides countless opportunities for the Communists and their allies to label their governments as "tools of Wall Street." It undermines morale.

So what? Where do we go next? We know now that the Marshall Plan, bold and generous conception though it was, did not contain the whole answer. We know, too, that a European Federation (if it is achieved at all) cannot be achieved quickly enough to provide a solution—although it would undoubtedly answer some of the problems.

Nobody wants or expects American taxpayers to subsidize Europe indefinitely. But they do want and they do expect, as members of the Atlantic Community, that Washington should look afresh at the nature of Europe's mounting economic difficulties.

Is non-discrimination any longer a practical policy? Can better use be made of the International Monetary Fund to assist capital investment? Can America afford to buy more from abroad even if it hurts such powerful (and subsidized) domestic interests as the synthetic rubber industry—currently producing as much as the entire pre-war output of natural rubber in the sterling area?

What can be done to increase the pathetically slender currency reserves which are all that stand between the European Payments Union and the complete breakdown of national cooperation on the continent?

When the EPU was first set up in 1950 it was hoped that easier trading inside Europe would necessitate fewer dollar imports, and therefore smaller dollar deficits. Instead both Britain and France have, since Korea, piled up big deficits in dollars and European currencies as well. Britain at the end of June owed her EPU partners $1,119 million, or $59 million more than her maximum credit quota. She must pay up in dollars, a factor which drained $98 million from her meagre supply in July. The only way she can stop the drain under present conditions is to reroute scarce raw materials from defense to export industries. This, in a limited way, is the procedure now being employed by Butler. But if NATO is to grow in strength it is obviously not a long-term solution. Where then do the solutions lie?

These are urgent questions for Britain and for Europe. They are equally urgent for America if she is really serious about her role as leader of the Western Democracies. It would be absurd to expect an answer before November—but it would be reassuring to know that the questions come high on the agenda that must be piling up for the next occupant of the White House.

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THE CHANCES OF McCARTHY'S DEFEAT

by Bernard Hennessy

JOE MCCARTHY is back in Wisconsin, recovering from the illness that delayed his own campaign, and tempered the attacks of his opponents, men more fair-minded than himself. Wisconsin and all the nation is wondering how close the campaign will be, and how far General Eisenhower will intervene to repudiate or defend the man who branded his sponsor and friend, George Marshall, as a liar and a front man for traitors.

General Marshall, McCarthy told the Senate on June 19, 1951, ". . . made common cause with Stalin on the strategy of the war and marched side by side with him thereafter." He accused Marshall of giving the Russians military secrets, of presenting them with Berlin and Prague, of suppressing intelligence reports, of "sabotaging" military aid to China, of "betrayal." Marshall, McCarthy declared, was the "executioner" of Moscow's major plot in Asia, and a member of "a larger conspiracy, the world-wide web of which has been spun from Moscow."

Wisconsin voters read that Eisenhower will shun their state and disassociate himself from McCarthyism. They read also that McCarthy's political parent, Tom Coleman, will be an Eisenhower manager; that McCarthy's supporters head up the Republican Speakers Bureau and that his close ally, Senator Dirksen, speaking as a member of Eisenhower's six-man strategy board, is defending McCarthy and linking Adlai Stevenson with Hiss and the "lavender lads" of the State Department—phrases as foul-mouthed as if they came from McCarthy's own lips.

This is the two-faced attitude McCarthy understands and exploits. Eisenhower could beat McCarthy if he chose to. But with Eisenhower neutralized by Nixon and his own headquarters, McCarthy will claim full Republican support.

It was in the Republican Party that McCarthy faced his real fight, when he ran as a little-known Marine veteran in 1946. Liberal Republicans helped to finance his campaign. Communist labor leaders in Milwaukee, according to some Democrats, followed orders in throwing the votes they controlled to him. He defeated "Young Bob" LaFollette, the incumbent, by less than 6,000 votes out of 440,000 cast.

Prof. Howard McMurray of the University of Wisconsin Political Science Department ran unopposed in the Democratic primary in 1946 and received only 62,361 votes. It is no secret that thousands of normally Democratic voters in that year went into the Republican primary, as is permissable under Wisconsin law. Furthermore there is reason to believe that many Democrats supported McCarthy in the 1946 primary on the grounds that he would be more easily beaten than LaFollette.

The outcome of the general election must have been staggering to those Democrats who believed that McCarthy would be easy to beat. McMurray captured only one of the 71 counties—and that Dane County, dominated by Madison, containing his own home. McCarthy polled 620,430 votes to McMurray's 378,772. McCarthy took all rural counties by large majorities. He even won Milwaukee County by 30,000 votes, and industrial Racine County by a smaller but comfortable margin.

Shortly after the election McMurray was dismissed from the University in what many people believe was an act of political spite on the part of the overwhelmingly Republican Board of Regents (the chairman of which, it was later discovered, had even advanced McCarthy a very large loan). Whatever may be the truth of the McMurray incident, as it is called, it has certainly made it clear that opposing McCarthy in his home state may have consequences which do not ordinarily attend political campaigns.

But 1946 was a Republican year. Reflecting the nation-wide postwar reaction, the McCarthy vote was matched in Wisconsin by Republican Walter Goodland's 200,000 gubernatorial majority over popular Daniel Hoan, former Democratic mayor of Milwaukee. And of course the anomalous situation attending the break up of the Wisconsin Progressives complicated the 1946 picture to the point where no clear cut conclusions can be made. Many who voted for McCarthy, the vigorous war-hero, riding the Republican wave of 1946, will not vote for McCarthy, the chief witch-hunter, in 1952.

The returns of 1948, the last Presidential election year, are perhaps somewhat more significant in their bearing on the Wisconsin situation of 1952. In 1948 Truman received 50.7 percent of the popular vote as against 46.4 percent for Dewey and 1.9 percent for Wallace. Thus the Democratic and Wallaceite votes combined amounted to 52.6 percent of the total—hardly a sweeping victory for the Wisconsin center and left. The actual voting as compared with the estimated potential vote indicates that only 59.4 percent of the 2.15 million

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eligible voters cast their ballots. This was a smaller total than in either 1940 or 1944 and may indicate both the over-confidence of the Republicans and the defeatism of the Democrats.

But it would be foolish to conclude from the 1948 experience alone that the anti-McCarthy vote in a Presidential year such as 1952 is likely to be effectively greater than in the non-Presidential year of 1946. Truman's margin was by no means overwhelming. And Dewey was weak in comparison with Eisenhower.

On the other hand even if the independent voters who supported Truman in 1948 vote this year for Eisenhower they may vote against McCarthy since ticket-splitting is characteristic of the independent voter. By bringing out the independent vote Eisenhower may, in fact, contribute to McCarthy's defeat. According to Louis Harris of the Roper organization 17 percent of the voters nationally may be classified as independents in terms of their consistent records of supporting candidates and issues rather than party labels. And a rather superficial comparison of several recent key elections indicates that the independent vote in Wisconsin may be close to Harris' figure (for example, 14 percent of the Truman voters in 1948 did not vote for the Democratic nominee for Governor). In any case, 15 percent of the voters, in Wisconsin or any other closely balanced state, will decide elections; and it is conceivable that independents who vote for Eisenhower as a matter of conviction may also vote against McCarthy as a matter of conviction.

Of the recent elections the most significant for this year may be the 1950 re-election campaign of Sen. Alexander Wiley. In that year the 66-year-old Wiley captured 53.3 percent of the total vote as compared with 46.2 percent for his 37-year-old Democratic rival, Thomas E. Fairchild.

Fairchild, the only Democrat who has successfully run for a state constitutional office since the FDR landslide of 1932, campaigned in 1950 for the full Fair Deal program, including the repeal of Taft-Hartley. He won in only ten widely scattered counties of the 71 counties in Wisconsin, although these ten included heavily populated Milwaukee County, Dane County, and the iron-ore, Duluth-Superior, county of Douglas. Twenty-eight counties which gave majorities to Truman in 1948 failed to support Fairchild in the 1950 election. The total vote in 1950 was 12.6 percent less than in 1948 and it seems quite possible that the Democratic failure to get out the vote, especially in these 28 largely agricultural counties, spelled Fairchild's defeat. In the mixed agricultural industrial county of Sheboygan, for example, Truman received in 1948 21 percent more votes than Fairchild in 1950. Whether this year the Democrats can turn the scale in these key counties is a question which may have decisive influence in November.

McCarthy of course has the backing of the regular Taftite machine which is tightly organized, competently led, and apparently well heeled. Until recently it seemed that he would have no primary fight at all. Within the last two months, however, the veteran politician and one-time LaFollette Progressive, Leonard Schmitt of Merrill, has launched a vigorous campaign for the Republican nomination. Finances seem to be Schmitt's present main headache and his managers have opened a "Dollars for Decency" campaign, hoping to mobilize small contributors with an ethical, anti-big-money, appeal. Here again the strength and disposition of the old Progressive elements in Wisconsin Republicanism is probably the decisive, and incalculable, factor. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the 1946 primary LaFollette won in 37 counties, but in the 1950 gubernatorial race, after the Progressives had been scattered, the Republicans won in 30 of those 37 counties. This may be taken as an indication that most of the Progressives stayed with the Republican Party—and indeed the Democratic leaders seem willing to so concede.

On the Democratic side the situation this year is more complex and, if anything, more discouraging to Wisconsin liberals. The Democratic organization has for many years suffered from a not too well concealed split—partly geographical and partly based on personalities—between a Madison group, organized at the seat of state government and wielding considerable power in the state Democratic Organizing Committee, and a Milwaukee group which controls a large portion of the Democratic votes and also enjoys much of the national party patronage. Whether these two factions conserve their main energies and pull together in the general elections may determine McCarthy's tenure in Washington.

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ISRAEL: *The Price of Miracles*

IN ISRAEL THE cost of living continues to rise, and measures to deal with it are dramatic but not particularly effective. The compulsory 10 percent loan, inflicted at the same time as a change of currency, was accepted in general with apathy—prices often rise more than 10 percent in a single month—and the restrictions on travel (private cars are not allowed on the roads on Saturday and on one other day of the week chosen by the owner) are considered by many people to be more of a victory for the religious zealots than a useful economic measure.

As a result, the Israeli have grave doubts as to the validity of the government's economic policy. The man in the street is beginning to believe that very little can be done in this field with the present personnel. On the other hand he has little faith in the policy of the conservative General Zionists. The promise of unrestricted free enterprise offers little attraction to the workers. Those who care to make comparisons with the change of government in Great Britain have good reason to stick to Ben Gurion in spite of growing doubts and fears. The character of Ben Gurion, his buoyant optimism, his almost aggressive energy, his courage and his record tend to bind an increasingly disgruntled population to him. If they lack confidence in his fiscal wizardry they have still less in that of his political opponents.

However Israel's economic troubles will never be fully solved by fiscal wizardry; no amount of forced loans, devaluations, taxes or controls will cure what is in fact Israel's chronic disease—underestimating the cost of miracles. The creation and development of this country against almost incredible odds is indeed almost miraculous; but in the wild excitement of victory over three years ago, the population naïvely believed that its chief sacrifice was over. Two thousand stateless years were to be made up if not in two, at any rate within 20 years. Everything was "top priority," from irrigation schemes and housing to new traffic signals and swimming pools. So priorities, vital in a country whose economy was damaged by the war and into which thousands of immigrants were pouring each month, became almost meaningless as each member of the cabinet tried to outstrip his colleagues in the tremendous enthusiasm of creating a modern state. Grandiose, yet often essential schemes were inaugurated with surprisingly little concern about the money, men or materials required to carry them out. But while this spree was going on very few people seemed to realize that doubling the population by unrestricted immigration (and a high percentage of the new immigrants had a low productive capacity) would require from the original inhabitants either double the amount of work or halving their standard of living—if not both; and this even taking into account the magnificent amount of financial and material support which came from the United States. But the population did not work harder, and the government rashly promised that the standards of the working class—from whom it gains its political support—would not be lowered. As conditions inevitably deteriorated wage claims increased, the black market increased and tax evasions increased.

Yet the government is apparently still somewhat shy of admitting the consequences of its well-intentioned but imprudent exuberance. It is no doubt hesitant to say anything which might strengthen the opposition at home, or possibly disenchant the Zionists abroad. It has achieved a great deal, but outspoken and objective criticism is rare. This however came recently from the chairman of the bank Leumi Le-Israel (an independent bank which is employed by the government for issuing notes and transacting its business), who in the course of a review of the country's economy said:

> Our gravest mistake since the very inception of the state was our refusal to recognize the fact that the settlement of immigrants would require a very real sacrifice which would be felt immediately in the daily life of every one of us. We wished to enjoy the privilege of having gathered in the exiles and at the same time enjoy a good life. Both these things do not, cannot, go together. . . . [We must] reduce the standard of living of the entire population.

This type of criticism, honest but not bitter, is badly needed. But none in Israel believes that their country will fail; the people are too tough, too determined and too proud. Yet the speed and degree of success depends on whether Israel's leaders have sufficient imagination and courage to reinspire a flagging population with the need for more work and greater sacrifices.

Jerusalem DAN SAMUEL

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE SPOILS OF FAWNS

THE GOLDEN BOWL, by Henry James, Introduction by R. P. Blackmur (Grove Press; $6.50).

EVERYONE MUST BE grateful to the Grove Press for making *The Golden Bowl* available (even at $6.50) and for giving us Mr. Blackmur's stimulating introduction. What they print is the 1904 text (indeed, they have used Scribner's old plates) with its occasionally confusing misprints and its clogging punctuation. The reader can see the difference this makes by comparing the text with the quotations in the introduction, which are taken, not from the text here printed, but, with slight variations, from the revised New York edition.

Mr. Blackmur begins his introduction admirably by directing our attention away from the well-made plot of the novel, to which James devoted such loving attention in his Preface, to the other plot which "is the soul of the action . . . which does truly imitate the conditions and aspirations of human life as seen in the actions of men and women of more than usual worth and risk." He then remarks that "we believe in [James' novels] only as we believe in hellish or heavenly fables, as we might believe in some fabulous form of the uncreated shades of ourselves." This leads to a comparison of Maggie and Beatrice.

But *The Golden Bowl* is concerned with the way Maggie, starting as an innocent girl, loving the Prince as much as she can—which, with her innocent ignorance, is not much—learns from her own immediate personal experience what it is to love so that, as she puts it, "you're beyond everything, and nothing can pull you down." With Beatrice our concern is with the possession and use of such love; with Maggie with its birth and development. The right comparison for Maggie might be Eve (Adam Verver's Eve) or a sleeping Princess who begins to awaken to that love which is beyond everything only when the Prince kisses Charlotte (Mr. Blackmur has Charlotte and the Prince lovers from their meeting in Rome, but it seems quite clear that their relation was not consummated until the Matcham weekend).

In order to concentrate our attention on Maggie's awakening, James does something in *The Golden Bowl* which makes it the strangest—and in its special way possibly the greatest—of all his large works. In his earlier novels we feel whole civilizations ranked behind the opposed characters and, watching them, seem to participate in the command decisions of an international moral conflict. But in *The Golden Bowl* these solid ranks have melted into thin air.

It is as if we saw Lear and Cordelia, vivid with the moral greatness of their positions but living in an immense, isolated palace, thousands of miles from their kingdom and duties, aware only of their immediate domestic world, awake to family love alone: in their innocence they do not even "hear poor rogues Talk of Court news." Moreover, each character is morally isolated and never refers to anything but his personal feelings for judgment, for guidance. The result is a fiction in which the burden of personal responsibility becomes almost intolerable and the greatness of personal courage, unsupported by any group conviction, nearly incredible. Not many people, as Charlotte remarks, are "decent enough, good enough, to stand it—not without help from religion or something of that kind." She alone seems to feel a need for the missing Albanys and Kents. ("My dear—" —James said to Edith Wharton when she questioned him about his leaving them out, "I didn't know I had.")

For this concentration of our attention, James also treats the concrete, visible world very oddly. As late as *The Ambassadors* he frequently relaxes our interest in the movement of Strether's awareness and focuses it, almost as in a third-person narration, on the visible world of places and people. "The vast bright Babylon" of Paris and its people are vividly present to us. But in *The Golden Bowl* our attention is almost exclusively, not on what we see or even on what the characters see, but on what they feel about what they see. All the vivid particulars—and James pours them out in profusion—are in the figures of speech by which he defines these feelings. For example, though Charlotte is hardly visible at all when she first appears—or ever—we know an immense amount of what the Prince feels about seeing her. For him "there was a shade of tawny autumn leaf" in her hair "that gave her at moments the sylvan head of a huntress" (the irony is James' characteristic intervention between character and reader; it is no part of the Prince's awareness); the "firmness of her flexible waist" is for him like "the stem of an expanding flower" but also like "some long, loose, silk purse, well filled with gold pieces, but having been passed, empty, through a finger ring that held it together;" he imagines having "weighed the whole thing in his open palm and even heard a little the chink of the metal" (three hundred and fifty pages later, as their love affair is about to be consummated, the Prince has "the chink of this gold in his ear" again). The effect of this sustained concentration on figures for feelings is like that of some long-established conventional style—the heroic or the pastoral—except that James' is not an established convention.

For the innocence and awakening of the Ververs, James has his greatest figure. At the start Maggie and her father "collect" the Prince, for "appreciation" —all readers of James know how central to living he believes these acts—as if there were no important distinction between the Prince and the Luini to which Mr. Verver mentally compares him. He is, as Maggie says, a *morceau de musée*—bought and placed in a glass

(Continued on page 23)

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AN UNGUIDED MYSTIC

THE NEED FOR ROOTS, by Simone Weil (Putnam; $4).

SUBTITLED *A Prelude to a Declaration of Duties Toward Mankind,* this long essay was written in England in the last year or so of Simone Weil's short life, when the Free French authorities in London asked her to write a report containing recommendations for the renovation of the educational and governmental system in France after the war.

It has been suggested that she may have been assigned the task because the Free French did not know quite what to do with this passionate Jewish girl, a quasi-Christian intellectual, who kept at them constantly to allow her to parachute into France. There is no evidence that the report was ever taken very seriously by them. That is a pity, for they would have been instructed. She realized more clearly than anyone among them the unique position of the French in London, and the opportunity they had of leading their demoralized and humiliated country in a profound patriotic and spiritual renascence. The moment passed, as she warned that it might, when these leaders engaged themselves in the struggle for political power in France at the end of the war. According to her analysis, their real strength for good lay in the fact that they were *not* the government of France. Why this should have been an advantage is clear if she is correct in her insight as to the emotion governing the historic relationship of the French people to the State, whether the monarchy, the Empire, or the Third Republic. In short, she thinks, they hated it.

She is at pains to say why this had been the case, and would continue to be unless the government assumed an entirely different character. She hoped it might, partly under the influence of people who were themselves not a part of the actual government, but who had represented the honor of France during the war. When she reviews and interprets the modern political history of France, or when she lists the needs of the soul of man, needs which must be taken into account in any social planning, what she has to say is of immense importance and should be studied with care, for it is beautifully penetrating and balanced. Her specific recommendations are not by any means always so, however.

Nor is the over-all impression to be gained of her mind, for all her brilliance, one of balance. Her thinking is sometimes idiosyncratic in the extreme, displaying a lack of objectivity that seems almost willful, and some of her outbursts are so emotional as to be almost altogether untrustworthy. This is true of her historical interpretation of the civilizations and events of antiquity, and of the middle ages. She cannot love Greece without loathing Rome; she cannot deplore the brutality that attended the Latinization of Europe without declaring for the debatable merits of Druidism. T. S. Eliot remarks in his excellent preface: "Simone Weil *begins with an insight, but the* logic of her emotions can lead her to make generalizations so large as to be almost meaningless."

None of the excess, however, invalidates her conviction of man's need for roots. Her truest perceptions, and her strongest warnings, concern the present-day tragedy of "uprootedness," particularly among workers and peasants (both of whose lives and labors she made a point of sharing), but among others as well, in the loss of any sense of the meaning of their lives, which they cannot love, or of existence itself.

It was inevitable that, in a work treating of what she surely regarded as basically questions of moral theology, Simone Weil should have had reference to Christianity, for she was obsessed by it. But while she sometimes marvellously clarifies and applies the teachings of Christ in her social and political thinking, at other times she either ignores or is quite blind to essential points and subleties of these teachings. In any case, it is impossible to assess her political views without examining her religious position.

Her Christianity is of a very heterodox and subjective kind. She loved, she cared, and there can be no doubt of that, and there should be no underestimation of the value of that. At the same time, admiration for her depth of feeling must not be allowed to obscure the peculiarities of her religious thinking. She tends to cut the ground in reason from beneath her own convictions. For example, she absolutely rejects the idea of the Jews (or any others) as possibly chosen of God for particular revelation, even while avowing absolute faith in Christ as the Son of God. In logic, surely the fact that the Son of God was born a Jew and came, as He said, "not to destroy the [Mosaic] Law, but to fulfill it," would in itself set the Jews, and the revealed Law by which they lived, apart from other religions of antiquity, and in an important sense substantiate their claim. It is difficult to see how a Christian can deny the historic mission of the Jews.

Simone Weil is generally regarded as an unofficial Catholic. She declared her belief in the Church, but in the end refused to enter it through baptism. She is much closer, however, to universalism in religion than she is to Catholicism. It is not her criticism of the Church that forces this conclusion, but her deepest sympathies as revealed in her writings. The circumstances of her death, in England, partly by starvation when she refused, though tubercular, to eat more than the war ration of Occupied France, are well known. This tragic semi-suicide brings to mind one of the practices of the members of the medieval "Albigensian" or Catharist movement of southern France. Cathars who had received the *consolatum* sometimes took to their beds and starved themselves to death, as an act of perfect religious abnegation. Simone Weil expresses the greatest admiration for the Albigenses, and mourns the "spirituality" lost to France in the suppression of this odd civilization. In the light of this affinity, her own form of self-destruction suggests the possibility of a kind of unconscious emulation. She was a mystic, but a mystic who refused any guidance, and who was therefore exposed to great dangers. Not the least of these, ironically, would be an impulse to suicide, even though disguised, regarded as a religious assignment to one who had been "chosen."

S. M. FITZGERALD

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THE MECHANISTIC BLUES

PLAYER PIANO, by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. (Scribners; $3.00).

PLAYER PIANO is a preview of American life after the third World War and the fulfillment of the second, or electronic, Industrial Revolution, the one that is now getting under way. America has become a quasi police state in which vast numbers of willing workers, including some of the most skilled, are unemployed and indeed unemployable because electronically operated machinery has permanently displaced them. It is a country in which a man's station and future are totally controlled by a configuration of punched holes in a personnel card and men's minds have been ground down to a conformity as fine as our dust. That dust is occasionally stirred by ancient dreams and inchoate resentments, and such a stirring is taking place as the novel begins. But mostly America is a country in which life is intolerably dull.

That seems to be a quality shared by most versions of the future and it poses a very difficult problem for their creators: namely, how to write interestingly about a dull subject. *Player Piano's* stereotyped or amorphous characters, inept construction, blunderbuss satire, and pedestrian prose help matters not at all.

And yet these defects, however, serious, might be pardoned in a novel of ideas if the ideas themselves were profound or at least provocative. Mr. Vonnegut's are not; they are, in fact, demonstrably erroneous. Consider first the mildewed notion that machines create unemployment. The fact is that machines create wealth and wealth creates jobs. More important still, it is in the nature of the machine to replace *unskilled* labor with *skilled* labor. We are still beguiled by the myth of craftsmanship, the absurd fancy, for example that the Middle Ages was an era of sword and chalice makers. Actually a far greater proportion of the population is engaged in skilled work in a truly mechanized society than in any other kind of society. In fact, many, if not most, of the jobs created by machines are not industrial; they provide new services of the sort that only a mechanized civilization can afford. Of course the author is talking about the future; but the future in his eyes is obviously an extrapolation of the present—that's what makes the novel "significant"—and there is, in the history of technological development, no support whatsoever for the situation which Mr. Vonnegut envisions.

More disappointing than the author's misconceptions, however, is his evasiveness. Having created a false issue, he lacks the courage to face up to it. The scientist-hero of *Player Piano,* after an abortive return-to-nature, lends himself to a Saturnalian uprising against the machine. As the novel ends he is seen sardonically yielding himself up to his executioners while the machine like the phoenix rises from the reeking ashes of its predecessor. Well now what does the author recommend? It may be objected that it is for the novel to propose problems not to answer them, but a work as doctrinaire and ill-natured as this one may reasonably be expected to offer some alternative to the evils it so grimly prophesies. Shall we return to brutalizing drudgery, to caste, to superstition? Shall we surrender our ease of movement, the spaciousness of our lives, in general—half our life-span for that matter. I'm sure the author would not seriously suggest that. Nor need he. Mechanization, blind and irresistible, can be directed if not resisted. We know now that the problems created by the machine are essentially political, not economic. We know too that they are susceptible of solution and that those solutions are not incompatible with freedom. Mechanization is as evil and beneficent as fire. It has vastly aggravated the horrors of war. The machine is, in the most literal sense, what we make it. It does what we make it do. It can be governed.

This novel, it seems to me, stems not so much from an intelligent apprehension as from the intellectual's sense of inferiority in the presence of the garage mechanic, at least while the mechanic is fixing the intellectual's car, or when he is presenting his bill. Why this feeling, which in its generalized state is one of non-participation in and non-contribution to society? Behind it may lie a sense of guilt. The intellectual despises the machine, but accepts its benefits—must accept them, willy-nilly. No Walden for him! That's only a suggestion of course, but it's one the writer of the next anti-machine novel might consider before he throws his sabots into the gears.

DAVID GOLDKNOPF

FOUR MAJOR REVOLUTIONS

THE ANATOMY OF REVOLUTION, by Crane Brinton (Prentice-Hall; $5).

THE REVISED EDITION of Crane Brinton's *The Anatomy of Revolution,* published originally in 1938, brings the subject up to date. My original opinion that this is an erudite, witty and slightly tongue-in-cheek study remains unchanged. It is conversation which, no matter how frequently you interject demurrers, is pleasant and for the most part instructive.

Essentially this is a study of what Brinton calls the four major revolutions of the modern West: the English in the seventeenth century; the American and French in the eighteenth and the Russian revolution of the present century. But while disavowing any intention of discussing revolutions in banana republics, colonial revolts, civil wars and the like he displays a vast amount of information on the sideshows and their parallels under the big top.

The structure of the book is, as the title suggests, topical rather than chronological; on the whole a satisfactory arrangement. It does, however, lead him into some dubious parallelisms although he is careful to label them "tentative." Thus he finds a roughly common pattern to the four revolutions, which he analyzes with a "fever chart." While disavowing the finality of a scientific approach to history he comes dangerously close to the thermodynamics of Henry Adams and the like efforts of Comte, the Marxists (his whipping boys) and the others who have tried to measure history by rule of thumb.

Under the headings "The Old Regimes," "First Stages of Revolution," "Types of Revolutionists" (he does not like them as a group nor individually),

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"The Rule of the Moderates," "The Accession of the Extremists," "Reigns of Terror and Virtue," "Thermidor," Brinton discusses the various aspects of his four revolutions. By using this topical approach he runs into some trouble marshalling his meticulously assembled facts to fit his over-all pattern. In particular, the American Revolution is difficult to fit to the board of his puzzle, although he is able to employ it to prove one of his major contentions that revolutions are led by and large by a disgruntled bourgeoisie with the helping hand of disenchanted intellectuals. On several occasions he lumps Washington with Cromwell, Robespierre and Lenin which I guess to be a deliberate needling of the Daughters of the Revolution. He is less than convincing in fitting our revolt into the sections on "Terror" and "Thermidor" and he is wise in his "Summary" to modestly entitle a subchapter "Some Tentative Uniformities."

Apart from its challenge to the too-frequent complacency of left-wing thinking and the pleasantly garrulous style, *The Anatomy of Revolution* possesses a highly useful bibliography (the notes of which reveal more of Brinton's biases than the text). While he is eminently fair to his opponents it is clear that he has sipped long and well of the heady wine of Pareto and William Graham Sumner, good antidotes for folly but hardly guides to the Just City.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

UNSEEMLY DEDUCTIONS

THE RIDDLE OF EMILY DICKINSON, by Rebecca Patterson (Houghton Mifflin; $4.50).

WHY DO so many books of literary detective-work, even when they are better authenticated, better written and more useful in their conclusions than Mrs. Patterson's, seem finally just unpleasant? Perhaps it is because, in order to reach a single reason for anything as singular and yet manifold as literary creation, it is necessary to limit the human personality's capacity for growth and redirection to the point of mutilation. It could not very well be a pleasant process to observe.

For 400 pages Mrs. Patterson tracks down the until now unknown person (she believes it to have been a person, not persons) for whom Emily Dickinson is supposed to have cherished a hopeless passion and to whom she is supposed to have written every one of her love poems. This person Mrs. Patterson proves, to her own satisfaction at least, to have been another woman, a Mrs. Kate Anthon (to use her second married name), a school friend of Emily Dickinson's sister-in-law, Susan. She came to visit Susan Dickinson, next door to Emily Dickinson, in Amherst in 1859; she was then a widow who preferred to go by her maiden name of Kate Scott. The two young women met and fell in love; about a year later Kate Scott broke it off in some way, and Emily Dickinson had been christened and launched on her life of increasing sorrow and seclusion. It was all as simple as that.

That her thesis is partially true might have occurred to any reader of Emily Dickinson's poetry—occurred on one page to be contradicted on the next, that is—but even so, why is it necessary for us to learn every detail of Kate Scott's subsequent life for 57 years after she dealt Emily Dickinson this supposedly deadly blow? It is interesting enough to read: she was an attractive, generous woman who traveled a great deal, a devoted wife as well as an effusively affectionate friend, but none of this seems to have much to do with "the riddle of Emily Dickinson." Perhaps Mrs. Patterson is trying at such length to establish the fact that Mrs. Anthon was capable of the relationship the author attributes to her—which again doesn't seem to prove much, considering the lengths of the lives of both women, the enormous emotional vitality both obviously had, and the number and variety of people in Kate Scott's life, and even, although of course to a smaller degree, in Emily Dickinson's.

According to the book jacket, Mrs. Patterson has long been an admirer of Emily Dickinson's poetry. In the avidity of her search for "proof" she appears to have mislaid it, as well as a few more considerations: the possibility that a poet may write from sources other than autobiographical, the perfectly real enjoyment in living expressed in many of the poems, the satisfaction that Emily Dickinson must have felt in her work, no matter what, and, quite simply, the more demonstrative manners of another period. When the poems are quoted they are used or misused merely as bits of "evidence," and poor Mrs. Anthon's exuberant underlinings in the books of poetry she carried with her are subjected to the same treatment.

These 400 pages are still many sizes too small for Emily Dickinson's work. Whether one likes her poetry or not, whether it wrings one's heart or sets one's teeth on edge, nevertheless it exists, and in a world far removed from the defenseless people and events described in this infuriating book.

ELIZABETH BISHOP

THE GALLIC MODERNS

CONTEMPORARY FRENCH POETRY, by Joseph Chiari (Philosophical Library; $3.75).

IN A FOREWORD to Mr. Chiari's study of contemporary French poetry, T. S. Eliot contrasts the present task with that undertaken half a century ago by Arthur Symons in *The Symbolist Movement in French Literature*. Eliot finds that the poets dealt with by Symons, despite their great differences, showed a certain unity which is lacking in contemporary French poetry, and suggests that the present situation in France might best be described as a "crisis of prosody."

But Mr. Chiari, although he is himself a poet, is much more concerned with philosophical attitudes than with versification. Thus Paul Valéry is described as "a man of his age—the age of Heidegger and Sartre," who "at the end of his life seems to have reached the philosophy of existence." Of Jules Supervielle, Chiari says: "In the words of Blake, 'Eternity is in love with the productions of time' and that belief places Supervielle in his age, the age of existentialism, whose main tenet is, that Eternity can only be grasped through Time in moments when Time, past and future, is transcended in the timeless present." He treats Paul Claudel less

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sympathetically, finding in him, I believe, a somewhat rigid Catholicism: "For Claudel all roads lead to Rome . . . ." Of Pierre Emmanuel, a younger poet, he says: "The ideal state for him is the state of oneness, the sexless, angelic state." Of Paul Eluard he writes with great sympathy: "I have only to conjure up Eluard's strongly moved face, while he was describing the horrors he had seen during this war, or his anxiety about the Spanish war, and about the apathy which prevailed all round while the shadows lengthened over Europe, to be made fully aware of his strong sense of responsibility." And he quotes from Eluard this line: *"Le seul abri possible c'est le monde entier."*

These are the poets to whom Mr. Chiari pays most careful attention; he speaks from their midst, is thoroughly enmeshed in their tradition; and the reflective reader may find more interest in the book than its rather fuzzy texture would seem at first to promise.

RUDD FLEMING

THE GAELIC PERENNIALS

1000 YEARS OF IRISH PROSE, *Part I: The Literary Revival*, edited by Vivian Mercier and David H. Greene (Devin-Adair; $6).

"REVIVAL" IS AS MUCH a misnomer for the flowering of Ireland's literature in the early 20th century, as "Renaissance" is for the similar flowering of England's in the late 16th. In both cases, what was going on amounted not so much to a rebirth, as a maturing, an emerging, a coming into consciousness. A literature speaks for a culture, and like a human being, a culture has a childhood in which it is largely passive, in which its myths, its legends, its images simply happen to it, without its being aware of them. But as it approaches manhood, it remembers them, claims them, rejoices in them, and through its literature, uses them to establish its own identity. What the annals call the Irish Literary Revival was simply the first conscious articulation of the Gaelic culture.

Its trajectory spans sixty years. It may be dated from 1880, with Standish O'Grady's translations of the Cuchulain stories. Lady Gregory's intensive campaign on behalf of the whole Celtic tradition followed, until, by 1900, the thrust of its images had begotten original works upon the imagination of Yeats. At the same time, it nurtured a sense of roots and identity which prompted Synge to leave Paris and come back to the Aran Islands, where he found something better than myths, a

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living people's speech and mores out of which to create literature. Joyce found the same thing at home, among his native Dubliners, and Yeats himself was soon discarding his ancient heroes, his "coat covered with embroideries out of old mythologies," to sing about his country's contemporary political martyrs. The masterpieces which followed were at once Irish and universal. But by 1920 Synge was dead, and both Joyce and Yeats had moved beyond Ireland into their own visions (as Shakespeare moved beyond the England he celebrated in *Henry V* to his own world in *The Tempest*). Identification was complete. The impulse of the "revival" slackened, and a decline set in, piddling, self-absorbed, puristic, whose extreme gesture consisted in resuscitating Gaelic as a written language.

Messrs. Mercier and Greene have assembled a lively 600 pages. Every aspect of the movement's prose writing is represented, from Padraic Pearse's oratory and James Stephen's fantasy, to George Moore's memoirs and Sean O'Casey's theater. There are crisp biographical notes and a scrupulously unopinionated introduction. Saving Shaw, who declines even posthumously to be anthologized, there are no important omissions, though I myself should like to have seen something from Forrest Reid. To my knowledge, he has never been published in America, and if he is known, it is probably through E. M. Forster's tribute in *Abinger Harvest*. He wrote about a dozen novels, and he is certainly no more than a minor writer. Yet I can't think of another Irishman who has written as reverently, as originally, and as unpatronizingly as he has about the supernatural elements in human experience.

With more good will than conviction, the editors conclude with a section called "No Country for Old Men," by which they wish to suggest that Irish letters may once again be in ferment, with another period of fertility just ahead. Possibly so; but nothing belies their hope so much as their selections. Neither the chapter from *Ulysses* nor Yeats' late play, *The Resurrection*, may be taken to indicate a resurgence among the younger generation. And the third selection, *faute de mieux*, is an exerpt from Miles nag Copaleen's novel *At-Swim-Two-Birds*, which he published in 1939 under the pseudonym of Flann O'Brien. Far, far from presaging new vitality, its arch affectation is the perfect product of a movement in late decline. It is to Joyce what James Shirley's plays are to Shakespeare: a frivolous grafting of mere self-consciousness upon a form and images which were once live. Diverting perhaps, but sallow, and unrelated to truth.

ROBERT PHELPS

PSYCHOLOGY'S NEW VIEW

RELIGION AND THE CURE OF SOULS IN JUNG'S PSYCHOLOGY, by Hans Schaer (Pantheon; $3.50).

THE TRANSLATION of this book from the German arrives on the American scene at a timely moment. Not only professionals of the various disciplines, but especially the lay public seem to be confused as to the relationship between psychology and religion; or between psychoanalysis and religion.

While in another publication Erich Fromm, the analyst, explains his side (namely that there is a place for analysis and religion and that both are separate fields with much the same purpose, namely to help people, and with little or nothing of "overlap"), Dr. Schaer represents in this volume Jung's stand toward the churches, which, to sum up this reviewer's impression, should please immensely a confused public and a doubtful clergy and should also antagonize psychologists of whatever make and mind (including the Jungians). For, many will misread such a sentence, as ". . . the psychology of C. G. Jung, regarded scientifically, is the nearest approach to religion." The author apparently means to imply that in his opinion Jung is as "good as a religion," rather than that Jung is "like religion," which of course he is not.

While it is also true that Jung has amplified Freud's idea of libido, which resulted, perhaps, in the source of a religious instinct, it is, nevertheless, doubtful whether this amplification is helpful in actual therapy with a patient. The thesis of the book seems to say so.

This volume will, if nothing else, become the occasion of fruitful debate among several related disciplines. For example, how does a minister, be he a Catholic, Protestant or Jew, feel toward Jung when the latter does not speak of God as an idea that is thought or contrived, but of God as something experienced? Jung prefers to speak of a God-symbol or God-image, the latter representing a psychological magnitude. Relating the symbol to the power of imagination inherent in most of us, Jung feels that hitherto unconscious fantasies are made conscious through our active participation in them.

Readers with open and curious minds will find food for thought in this readable and welcome addition to the literature of psychology.

HANS A. ILLING

A PRESENT WARNING

THE CHALLENGE TO ISOLATION 1937-1940, by William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason (Harper; $7.50).

DURING THE critical years of the last decade many of America's prominent historians entered government service and thus acquired an intimate knowledge of the practical working of diplomacy and politics. Two of them, William Langer of Harvard and Everett Gleason, formerly of Amherst, have combined their training as historians and their understanding of the high level formation and execution of policy, to produce a comprehensive, scholarly and readable history of American diplomacy from 1937, when on October 5 President Roosevelt suggested a "quarantine" against powers disturbing the peace of the world, to August 1940, when the American Cabinet, the politicians and the public approved the famous destroyer deal and thus said farewell to neutrality. The great debate on American foreign policy which started in 1915 came to a point of clarification: isolationism had been challenged by world events and by the growing realization of their implications.

President Roosevelt started his term as an isolationist. He had ceased to pay even lip service to the League of Nations; his handling of the London Eco-

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nomic Conference of 1933 was a case of unpardonable bungling. America's action in the Ethiopian and Spanish crises certainly was no contribution to the strengthening of democracy or peace. In August 1936 he said: "We shun political commitments which might entangle us in foreign wars; we avoid connection with the political activities of the League. . . . We are not isolationists except in so far as we seek to isolate ourselves completely from war." The immense progress in the education of the American people can probably be best measured by the fact that no isolationist running for office today would speak in that naïve way.

Only four years after the just now mentioned speech of Roosevelt in Chautauqua, the Chicago *Daily News* warned editorially that "if Hitler crushed Britain, we can pass [neutrality] laws by the bucketful, without diminishing in any wise the threat to our security," and the New York *Herald Tribune* stated: "There is no question whatever about the indissoluble link that binds the United States to the fate of the British Isles and the Royal Navy." This change in public temper was not so much the result of official action (or of a desire by Mr. Roosevelt for taking us into war) than of private effort by a number of organizations and individuals who in typically American fashion carried the burden of public education.

Professors Langer and Gleason make us re-travel the tortuous road from the illusions of security through the phony war and the phony peace to the rude awakening by the fall of France, a road which seemed so long and yet which took only two years to travel. Rarely have years been so crowded with events and globe-encompassing consequences as the years from 1938 to 1940 were, with the Hitler-Stalin pact which made the Soviet advance into Europe possible, with Japan's push southward, and with Hitler's typical (for all dictators) illusion about the purpose and strength of the British at that time. Apparently the American Ambassador in Britain and many high-ranking American officers shared this illusion. But American public opinion in its majority ways backing Secretary Hull's opinion expressed to the departing French Ambassador: "The one real hope for a peaceful civilized world is for Great Britain to check the Hitler movement of world conquest." These changes on the world stage and in American public opinion are lucidly recorded in the present volume which will soon be followed by a continuation, dealing with the story from August 1940 to December 1941.

HANS KOHN

(Continued from page 17)

case in Portland Place, as Mr. Verver wishes he were able to transport "the little old church 'on the property' . . . as it stood, for its simple sweetness, in a glass case, to one of his exhibitory halls." Knowing no better way to love him, Maggie and her father make the Prince one of the spoils of Fawns. Sublimely unconcerned with everything but Maggie's convenience, Mr. Ververs even marries Charlotte to serve it—and tells her so when he proposes. But the Prince and Charlotte turn out, as presumably the little church might have, to be independently alive; to be truly possessed they must be bought with human understanding and suffering and appreciated with human passion (as perhaps even a Luini and certainly a church must). They break out—Charlotte like "a splendid shining supple creature"—from their stifling glass cages and force the Ververs to rise to the anguished occasion they have, with such innocent good intentions, helped to create.

The Golden Bowl is the history of Maggie's—and to a less extent Mr. Verver's—education as collectors, of their awakening to the full knowledge of human nature and their achievement of the kind of love such knowledge demands. At their last meeting, Maggie and her father turn from a Florentine painting to look at "the picture" of Charlotte and the Prince, who now, as James puts it, "figure as concrete attestations of a rare power of purchase. There was much indeed in the tone in which Adam Verver spoke again and who shall say where his thought stopped? *'Le compte y est.'* You've got some good things."

ARTHUR MIZENER

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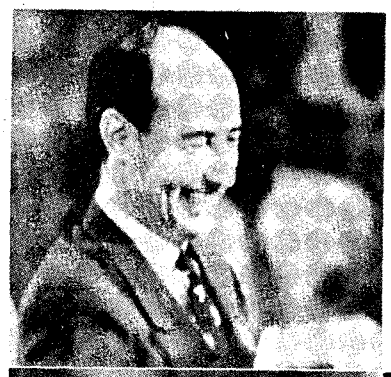

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